1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

885 775 turn after dark. They had almost reached home when they heard a rustling in the path by their side which they knew to be a ghost. At first they froze in their tracks and then shouted out their predicament, hoping that there would be someone in the house tamberan to come to their aid. Wof and War heard the shouting and told them to run. They did. When they reached the house tamberan safely, they and the other men present shouted angrily at the ghost to go back to the land of the dead and to stop annoying them.

885 787 789 A Kwoma adult may be possessed by ghosts under the same circumstances and for the same reasons as adolescents. The only new rôle which he must play at this time is that of exorcist. Any adult may try his or her hand at questioning the ghost through the medium of the possessed person, but those who show the most aptitude for discovering the cause of the ghost's anger gain reputations as exorcists and are usually called upon. Marok and Chinuwa were considered to be the best exorcists at Rumbima.

885 757 The Kwoma have certain techniques for curing minor ills, most of which have already been described. Although children can depend on others to perform these techniques, adults must learn to treat both themselves and their sick relatives. An adult must know when and how to practice phlebotomy, how to lance and care for a boil, and when to rub a person with nettle-like leaves in order to revive him. He must also learn some of the spells which are thought to be effective under various circumstances.

753 • 752 754 The Kwoma believe that all serious sickness is caused by sorcery. The list of maladies which are thought to result from sorcery includes not only common illnesses, such as malaria, filariasis, and tuberculosis, but also injuries which result from accident. When, for example, a boy from a neighboring hamlet fell from a tree and fractured his skull, the fall was believed to have been caused by the machinations of a sorcerer. Sorcery is even suspected to be the cause of minor ills, such as ulcers, headaches, and upset stomachs whenever they are unusually protracted or resistant to cure. All but the mildest ailments are thus believed to be caused by per-

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OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

sonal agents. This belief gives the Kwoma something to do when sickness occurs: they can attack the sorcerer and prevent him from continuing his operations. If a person believes that he has stopped the sorcery, his fear of continued illness or death is reduced; and since the Kwoma have developed no "realistic" modes of curing these diseases, the belief in sorcery is psychologically adaptive.

Whenever it is believed that a person is suffering from the results of sorcery, the men of his hamlet immediately launch an anti-sorcery campaign. The first step is to make an announcement on the house tamberan gongs, "So-and-so, our relative, is sick from sorcery. Anyone who is guilty of sorcerizing this person must answer for it. If anyone is sorcerizing an unknown person, stop at once. It may be our relative." After this command is issued, all the men of the subtribe, if they wish to be free of suspicion, visit the house of the sick person, pay their respects, and drink water. Since a sorcerer cannot work his evil magic if he drinks water during the process, this is taken as proof of innocence. If the sick person is a close relative of a man of high prestige, there will be many visitors, but if he is not there will be few. If the sick man does not show signs of recovery, some of his relatives will visit around the subtribe, going to the houses of those whom they suspect of sorcery and asking them to drink. The relatives may resort to another expedient in the anti-sorcery campaign by calling a "sorcery court," in which an attempt is made to discover the guilty person.[30]

The Kwoma are in a constant state of anxiety about sorcery. Hardly a week passed during the seven months of my stay at Kwoma that the command to stop all sorcery did not boom out from the gongs of one or another of the house tamberans. Whenever the sorcery message was spelled out, everyone would stop what they were doing, listen intently, shake their heads seriously, and make some such statement as: "Somebody is sorcerizing Sowinambi's wife. What is the matter with people anyway? Why do they have to go about

[30] The procedure at the sorcery court is described below.

796 comes by going home to sleep. This day is for rest. Tomorrow the singsing
346 will go on to its conclusion."

The "singsing" did not go on, however. It was postponed because one of
755 the Bongus men was very sick, and all attention was turned to beating the
754
[796] gongs against poison. This was going on when I returned along with a lot of talk about the evils of poison, and not knowing what the place was coming to with so much of it being practiced. Two men have died within
[123] a month, and now another one from the same sib is about to go. Tip went to look at this man before we went to Ambunti and gave him some quinine. The
[753] next day he was better, and we thought he was cured. It seems, however, that the natives are so sure that he is poisoned that they are turning their attention to it rather than asking for more medicine.

[752] The poison situation was further aggravated by the fact that two days ago a young "monki" from Waskuk was cutting wood with his father and a tree fell on him and crushed his skull. He is still alive, but there is no hope for him. The natives recognize this as an accident, but now the Waskuk gongs are beating against poison. We have had no direct evidence that we
[123] are considered responsible for the bad luck that seems to have hit the tribe, but it would be peculiar if some did not think that we were the cause of it. They always deny this if directly questioned. Last night Kum told Wis not to allow any old man into his house or he might be poisoned. This is all a very interesting situation, and when we know the language a little better, we can understand more about it.

114 November 10, 1936. Yesterday afternoon we were sitting out in front of our
[372] house with a group of natives. [We have fixed up a small courtyard there and built a little fire in the center of it, for this seems to be an essential part of a native gathering. They use it to dry their tobacco and light their cigarettes.]

back from the bush. The drums went again this afternoon, and it was pretty well authenticated to be an old woman from Wenya, whose grandchildren were being called from working in a garden over on the edge of Ambunti mountain.

January 30, 1937. Last night I heard talking for quite a while in a loud voice. At first I could hear no responses, but finally I heard a woman answering angrily. After fifteen minutes of this the woman began wailing. Then she spoke a half a dozen words very quickly and then "O - O" on a low tone, and finally repeated it. All this was kept up for five minutes when she burst into actual sobbing. Wof was talking in a loud voice all the time.

This morning Gwiyap said that Wof's wife had complained that she did not have enough food to eat and Wof was tired of her complaining (the day before yesterday I stopped in and Kaya had what looked like a sprained ankle which had been cut with a razor according to native medical theory.) Her temples had also been cut. She held her foot up for me and moaned how much it pained. Gwiyap and Mar who were with me were very anxious for me to leave; they would not talk about it, so I was not able to find out much. The incident of last night had something to do with this, but again Gwiyap was loath to talk.

January 29, 1937. Afalowanj came and sold me a carved wooden figure. I paid him with a pair of scissors. He pretended to cut off his penis with it and evoked a laugh from all those present.

January 30, 1937. I got a letter from Eve today saying that he had arrived safely, so the rumor was false. I told Gwiyap and May this and asked them if they had actually heard that the Tangwishamps wanted to kill us, and they now admitted that they hadn't, although before they swore that they had.

857 Fit and May have been playing all afternoon. May was chasing Fit.
752 About 5:00 May caught Fit, who was holding a razor blade. Fit swung his hand to get free and cut a deep gash beside May's mouth and another on his finger. Owiyap explained carefully to me, and it seemed partly for May's benefit, that it was not deliberate on Fit's part. May did not seem to bear a grudge. Fit ran away for a half an hour or so, but came back at the end of that time. There were no hard feelings.

521 May, Afalowanj, Marak, Way, Yat, and Wof were at the house tamberan.
484 There was general conversation. Three "finish timers" from Tangwishamp
[628] came by. About six Tangwishamps and as many Hongrams were helping to carry their cargo.

602 April 3, 1937. If Owiyap pays Payap, he will not only not pay him at
571 hant sunvige, but he will no longer accept anything from him, because now
754 there is no obligation not to poison him. He will no longer eat at his house or accept betel, etc. from him. His son is also removed from the
[601] relationship. He will no longer call them nan but use their name. His daughter, Meema, will still care for him, and he will pay something to her at hant sunvige. The relationship will not be broken. It can't be.

439 Today there was a market with Yambon. Yawaf carried a net bag of
262 sago and brought seven strings of fish which were smoking over the fire this
[251] afternoon wrapped as they were in leaves. Owiyap ate five or six fish, a wrapped sago and a plate of soup.

578 Owiyap and War straightened out their difficulties. Owiyap paid the
602 shilling and War told him that he was really not very cross since Owiyap was a child yet, and it was War's job to take care of him.. Payap is War's mother's adopted brother. He is Owiyap's mother's father's brother's adopted son.

123 685 He is old enough to know better. He does not belong to another sib, he belongs to Rumbima--its bad business.)

224 752 Hoel came with his eyes swollen and a big bruise on his forehead. He had tried to shoot a pig, and the spear had somehow bounced back and struck him. Kwalump, War, and the others berated him for trying to shoot a pig because he was too young.

593 578 April 12, 1937. Some people gathered at Wof's last night and talked. There were a couple of loud thumps and then Kaya started wailing. Owiyap said that she was complaining about mosquitoes, and Wof told her to be quiet or she would attract more. She persisted, and Wof hit her across the shoulders with a stave. The loud voices continued for about an hour, then abated and a little later laughter followed; Kaya and Wof laughing the loudest of all.

534 271 Yatiminj, Kar, War, Marok, and Mar are working on a gong. War is the boss worker and is not drinking water or eating hot water until it is finished "so it will come up good."

838 This afternoon Cimpangai came in. The first thing he did was ask where his wife Masamokwat was. All afternoon he played the homosexual game with the house boys.

123 685 Awa came up this afternoon and wanted to know the truth of the Wayakala affair (stealing). I told him, and he said it would be a good thing to "cal-aboose" him because he was a notorious sorcerer, stealing materials here and there and making trouble. May said that Way's wife had threatened to cut a kunda and threatened to beat up the house boys and me tomorrow.

Kar came saying they had talked with Way, and he was going to return the knife.

578 Tonight loud shouting was heard between Wof who was at my house and War at the house tamberan. It was a recurrence of the Yalangu affair. It

124 against Mar if he makes a fuss -- to say "like bilong mari". Then Oviyap said that he should bring his two sisters up here to stay at my house so that Mas would not upset the plan. Mar said no, he was going to sell Mas one of them and take care of the other -- he repeated that I was "papa true bilong them", and I must look out for them.

584 Mar came tonight. He talked with Mar about getting Uka, and they agreed it was all right. The plan was that Mas marry Awa in return to cancel the necessity for pay.

582 After supper loud voices were heard at the house tamberan, and then Kumb shouted back and forth to Mar. He said that it was no good to marry a woman from the same sib because the blood would not be removed, and their children would be no good. Mar said to me "Never mind Kumb, I can fight him". A little later he called out for Kumb to come up. He came [583] with Mas. They discussed the matter in a friendly way in pidgin, but I couldn't get the gist of it except that Mar would get Awa's bride price; Oviyap, Fit, Afi, and Hay would get Uka's.

April 16, 1937. Mar has decided to put off his affair with Uka.

123 I went down to see Latai who was reported to be sick. He had a slight [952] cold and a gash about ten inches long in the calf of his leg which was almost healed. A pig had torn it with its tooth. He gave me and Oviyap 123 some areca nuts, betel nuts, bananas, greens, and breadfruit. The areca 431 nuts belonged to him, and he gave them without expecting repayment. The 437 rest were his children's or wife's, and he asked for pay. (Betel nuts are 276 either sold for a high price or given away -- other food is bartered. [262] It seems that food is only given to relatives whereas betel is given to (exchanged by) friends. Therefore, they have a different valuation. I am always given betel by the natives without their expecting pay, but food is sold to me.

000 is sold to me. When the Tsngwishamp bring fayambi, they expect a knife for
435 a bunch containing 20 or 30 nuts, the equivalent of 2 large bunches of
276 bananas, or a net bag of yams.)

734 Mar, Waramus, Way, Wof, and Kar have gone to Sowinambi's for sunga hafasumuni (sorcery court). Mas and May came back from shooting with one gouris pigeon. May left his net bag and found a bundle of nettles in it.
826 Mas explained that May got them to scrape his penis to make it and him
856 grow. Later I asked May what they were. He laughed, embarrassed and would not answer. "Something bilong me". Ovivap explained that this was the "fashion of monkis" -- that he was big "finish" and did not do it any more.

685 May reported this afternoon that Pit had stolen a knife from his net bag and gone to his mother's.

838 Kar came up tonight, played the homosexual game with Oviyap, and put him down, spread his legs apart and spit on his penis--much to the delight of all. Mas berated May for running away and not helping Oviyap "fashion no good." Yat came at supper time, and he, Marok and Kar ate most of the
595 gouris pigeon. Kar is making arrangements to get a third wife. Mar is kidding him about it.

Oviyap heard that Ommi, Sowinambi's daughter, on whom he had designs,
584 said that if he married the Urambanj girl to whom he was bethrothed she would kill her. This pleased Oviyap who said he was going to break his engagement with the girl from Urambanj.

752 Enos was playing with a cold cartridge, lighting the powder. I had demonstrated burning gun powder at noon. It did not light at once when he tried it, so he leaned over to blow it, and it went off, burning his face badly, closing both eyes. Mas had warned him. They all blamed him, scolded him for being careless,

752 and showed little or no sympathy -- sort of "It's not my fault -- I told you to be careful. If I sympathize with you, people may think I'm to blame."

123 After supper I went down to Mar's. Way's wife, two daughters, and [562] Uga and Mar's sisters were there, sitting around the fire talking. Uga made a remark that I was too big a man (harana na maraka) to be coming into a gathering of women. We sat for a while and exchanged pleasantries, and then I went to the house tamberan. Most of the Rumbina were there. The 123 talk soon turned to the raid. Voices were lowered and there was an air of 726 excitement, particularly from Kis, Kar, and Mas. War was the ring leader. Mas told me later that Tangwishamp and Amagi had recently made a raid on Sawa U.embanj, and they were living about in the bush in small groups. They are still planning to attack. War is still after Mas to get my shotgun. Yat tried to throw me off the track by telling me they were talking about food.

123 I came back to find Wof at my house. He was very glum. May said he had been that way ever since sunga mwani at Sow's.

584 Owiyap said it was difficult to get a wife at Washuk. They were not like 754 Kalu and Yambon -- that they were "poisoners true" -- even if you stared at a woman on the road, she would be likely to call her relatives and they would make poison against you.

584 Mar said that his affair with Uha was put off for a couple of days -- 583 the arrangement was that Mas would get Owasta in exchange. Yatamanj, Kar, Kis and War would get her bride price; Mas, Down and Afa would get Uha's.

753 Mar said his knee pained. He thought it was because of bad blood, and
757 thought he would go and cut his penis tomorrow. He asked me if I wanted to come too, and then laughed, denying it. He said he would scrape it first with rattles and then cut it with bamboo. I asked why not a razor, and he said he didn't know, but guessed that bamboo would be better.

685 April 17, 1937. May has stolen Pit's spoon to retaliate for the theft of his knife.

342 Mas had gone to help Daw put the shingles on his house. Mar did not
476 go at first. He protested, "If he is going to make some work, why didn't
123 he ask yesterday for some help." He finally went with May, after May had
685 stolen some of my tobacco. I discovered the loss because he left a butt. I told Gwiyap I was going to spank May, and he said "Yes, broke in nose." When May came back he greeted me, saying, "sin" (hello). I did not return the greeting and he got up. He started to run away. I told him to come, and he became very frightened. I spanked him with a couple of hard whacks. He said nothing but sat on the floor. Mas and Mar were both angry with him and sympathized with my action. May later said that Mar had stolen some tobacco
752 too. War came to visit in the morning. He said he was upset about Knos and thought that he was blinded for good from the gun powder incident, but showed no sympathy. He blamed him for playing with something he didn't know
123 about and not listening to Mas' warning. He stayed around until about three o'clock and called to Knos to come down. He was asleep, so he told Gwiyap to send him, because he was afraid of Kafwa. Later his sister Aya came bringing sago and took him down with her.

I went down to Mar's with Gwiyap. Kniya, Awa, Afi, and Yawaf were there. I told Gwiyap to get a tin, and we would get water, and I would wash. Gwiyap said he was lazy. The girls said they would get the water, and they did. After they had gone, Gwiyap was afraid they could not carry the

252 up just after dawn to say they were cutting up the pig. Way, Marok, and Kar were doing the work -- Wof was looking on. Before the work was finished, War, Afok, Fokatay, and Yafalks came up. They sat around Wof's house and smoked, talked and chewed betel for ten minutes or so and then drifted off. They all sat facing away from the house, the women at the back..

501 Mas had planned to work on his canoe and came up carrying an ax. War told him to wait until he came back from Koriasi, and he would help. It wasn't worth it to ruin the canoe, as Mas and Mar were not good enough workmen. The others agreed, and Mas has given up the work.

191 [522] The house boys are teaching Afok pidgin. He treats it as a joke, and everyone is amused.

752 123 Kwos came to the house and said that his father had told him not to come, but that if I wanted to put salve on his sore, I should come down there. His right eye looks pretty bad; it is secreting pus. His right cheek is cracking like roast pork. His left eye is all right, though the eyelid is still somewhat swollen.

838 123 439 576 Mas and Owiyap were playing the homosexual game, calling each other friends -- without the usual hilarity but rather unusually. Cimpangay came bringing firewood for me -- and asked for beads. Nan tok (one who speaks my language)was his greeting fof Owiyap.

436 437 Marok and his wife, Uka, Chimuwa, Yawaf, Difa, Mboran, Dar, War, and Wof went, carrying pig and two net bags of yams contributed by Marok. Owiyap and Mar contributed a "lap lap" each. They will receive a lot of shell money in return. May would have contributed something, but he is a "nonki nothing".

593 Since Ngusaruka's brother was killed by the police boys, she will not come to Rumbina because there is notone to look out for her, and she may be raped or sorcerised. Otherwise she would come with money, and soup

*115 she sleeps, but began to wail. Wof awoke at this and came with a torch
[787] to awaken us. He shouted at us near our house but we slept through it all.
When I went to see Mar in the afternoon he was sitting up and seemed quite
cheerful. He still talked very little and used no pidgin. While I was
there he crawled out of the house and urinated. This he did on his
hand and feet, belly up. I asked him why he did not stand and Owiyap
quickly answered that he had a bad knee.

December 7, 1936.

The report today is that Mar is much better. Ear came around, and from
him we learned that Mar's older brother was a "big man" before he died.
At a ceremony his position was as high as that of Mar.

December 9, 1936.

*115 Yesterday Owiyap came to get me to treat Mar's leg. I went down to
123 find Mar asleep and had some trouble in waking him. He had a nasty surface
• 752 sore on his ankle. I swabbed it out with a solution of percuric potassium
iodide and put a bandage with unguentine on it. He howled a good deal during
the process but said nothing. Afterwards I fixed a little sore of Owiyap's
and although he stood it much better, he squirmed a bit, and Mar laughed at
this a little. I stayed for a while and he became more cheerful still saying
practically nothing however.

*115 Today during the Mundik[1] episode Mar came hobbling up the hill leaning
heavily on a walking stick to see what was going on. He went back after about

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1. Mundik was a young man who killed his wife and, seeking refuge at Washuk, was beaten by them and nearly killed for attending a ceremony without having the proper credentials (i.e., kaloids of manhood). They consider him to be insane.

#115 584 883 marry her at all he thought that she would probably be married by the time he returned; if not he would marry her.

February 3, 1937.

#115 752 123 659 The sore on Owiyap's leg, which developed when we were still at Ambunti, still does not heal properly, and looks pretty bad. Several times before he has suggested going in to the station. Wes was going in today to meet Tip so I decided to send Owiyap. I told him last night and at first he agreed to go, but then he began to think of reasons why he should not go. I insisted. This morning he again tried to get out of it, saying that Mar had told him to wait for him. I looked at him, and he grinned sheepishly and said, "All right, I'll go."

Summary made February 11, 1937.

128 133 Anything like a day by day account, is of course impossible, so I think the best thing to do at this point is to summarize the culture briefly as it looks to us at this point. The Kwoma is a group of mountains running north and west of the government station at Ambunti which are known as the Peilungua range. The Sepik River runs around the south and east edges of these mountains, and the great sago plane which stretches to the Dutch border and to the sea bounds them on the west and north. From Ambunti station at their south-eastern tip, to Tangwishamp at their north-western is a distance of about ten miles. The mountains consist of a series of short ridges running in all directions, the general trend being in the form of a N, its beginning at Ambunti, its end at Tangwishamp, we being situated about in the middle of the diagonal. The slopes of these ridges are very precipitous; it is usually necessary either to dig ones feet into the earth or to hold onto vines and roots to keep ones footing. [137 241] A dense forest of large trees covers the whole area except for small garden plots cleared here and there. The highest point, Ambunti Mountain, is 1320 ft. above sea level.